

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 AEC-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-05 L-02

NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

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C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 7601

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CSCE XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: HUMAN CONTACTS INTRODUCTORY TEXT

REF: A. GENEVA 7490

B. GENEVA 7417

C. GENEVA 7527

1. PROBABLY AS AGREED AT RAMBOUILLET, THE SOVIETS WITH THE
HELP OF THE FRENCH HAD THE OBJECTIVE OF GETTING AN INTRODUCTORY
TEXT FOR HUMAN CONTACTS SECTION OF BASKET III REGISTERED
BEFORE THE CHRISTMAS BREAK. DETERMINED EFFORTS AND LIBERAL USE
OF PRESSURE WERE NEGATED BY TACTICAL ERRORS AND FAILED, ALTHOUGH US
AND
SEVERAL OTHER WESTERN DELEGATIONS INDICATED TEXT WAS ACCEPTABLE TO
THEM. THE TOPIC AWAITS THE 1975 SESSION, WHEN THE CHANCES ARE IT
WILL REMAIN UNRESOLVED FOR SOME TIME.

2. OVER SEVERAL WEEKS THE SOVIETS AND FRENCH WITH SOME DANISH
PARTICIPATION HAVE BEEN QUIETLY NEGOTIATING A HUMAN CONTACTS
INTRODUCTORY TEXT, INCLUDING "MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS"
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LANGUAGE WANTED BY SOVIETS. THE TEXT WAS MENTIONED TO

US BY THE SOVIETS ON DECEMBER 4 BUT NOT MADE AVAILABLE. AT ABOUT THE SAME TIME RUMBLINGS IN THE EC-9 REVEALED THAT THE FRENCH HAD BEEN WORKING WITH SOVIETS WITHOUT FULLY CONSULTING THEIR ALLIES. THE TEXT APPROVED BY THE NATO CAUCUS ON DEC 11 (REFTEL B) WAS REPRESENTED AS BEING THE INITIAL RESULT OF THAT WORK.

3. AT THAT JUNCTURE THE NEUTRALS WERE BROUGHT IN AND ASKED TO PUT FORWARD THE TEXT, OR A VERY SIMILAR ONE, IN ORDER TO GET IT ACCEPTED BY CSCE. HOWEVER, THE SOVIETS REJECTED THE NEUTRAL VERSION OF THE TEXT WHEN THE NEUTRALS SOUNDED THEM OUT. THE FRENCH AND SOVIETS, IN THE PRESENCE OF THE NEUTRALS, THEN NEGOTIATED THE TEXT PRESENTLY BEING CONSIDERED (REFTELS A AND C). THIS TEXT REPRESENTED AS A DELICATELY BALANCED DOCUMENT WHICH THE SPONSORS SAID COULD NOT BE CHANGED. BOTH THE EC-9 AND THE NEUTRALS SPLIT OVER IT. THE FRENCH AND THE SOVIETS SEPARATELY SOUGHT US ASSISTANCE IN GETTING IT REGISTERED PRIOR TO THE BREAK.

4. AS THE FINAL WEEK BEFORE THE RECESS GOT UNDERWAY, THE AUSTRALIANS WERE PRESSURED INTO TABLING THE TEXT AS A WORKING PAPER, NOT NECESSARILY REFLECTING THE VIEWS OF THE AUSTRIAN DELEGATION. THIS WAS DONE IN FRENCH AND RUSSIAN, WITH BOTH LANGUAGE VERSIONS CONSIDERED ORIGINAL EVEN THOUGH THERE WERE SEVERAL DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN THEM. AT THAT TIME BOTH THE FRENCH AND THE SOVIETS BELIEVED THAT PRESSURE AND HARD WORK WOULD BRING REGISTRATION BEFORE THE BREAK. THEY WORKED HARD WITH DELEGATIONS HERE AND MADE DEMARCHES IN SOME CAPITALS IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE MORE MODERATE INSTRUCTIONS. DURING THE CRITICAL MEETING ON DEC 19 THE US DEL STATED THAT WE COULD MENTALLY REGISTER THE TEXT AS IT STOOD (SUPPORTING FRANCO-SOVIET EFFORTS), NOTED THAT IT MUST HOWEVER SATISFY ALL DELEGATIONS (FOLLOWING NATO AGREED LINE OF NOT CLOSING DOOR ON ALLIES TRYING TO IMPROVE TEXT), AND CALLED FOR THE TWO LANGUAGE VERSIONS TO BE RECONCILED SO A DEFINITIVE DECISION COULD BE MADE (KEEPING OUR OPTIONS PARTIALLY OPEN). WE ALSO WORKED IN THE NATO CAUCUS TO GET ACCEPTANCE.

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5. ALLIED AND NEUTRAL OBJECTIONS CENTERED ON THREE AREAS:
A) THE 3RD PARA LINKING DEVELOPMENT OF DETENTE AND FURTHER PROGRESS INHUMAN CONTACTS, B) "MAKE IT THEIR AIM" RATHER THAN THE STRONGER TERM "WILL FACILITATE" AS THE OPERATIVE PHRASE IN PARA 5, AND C) THE STRENGTH OF THE COMMITMENT IN THE LAST PHRASE IN THE TEXT, WITH SEVERAL VARIATIONS SUGGESTED AS SOLUTIONS. WITH WIDESPREAD OBJECTIONS OF VARYING STRENGTH AND SOVIET UNWILLINGNESS TO TOUCH ONE WORD OF

WITHER LANGUAGE VERSION, AN IMPASSE DEVELOPED AND COULD NOT BE BROKEN IN THE TIME REMAINING. THE SOVIETS HAD TO BE SATISFIED WITH GETTING BOTH LANGUAGE VERSIONS TABLED AS SEPARATE OFFICIAL PROPOSALS.

6. WE FEEL THAT THE SPONSORING DELS MADE THREE BASIC AND OBVIOUS TACTICAL ERRORS; A) FRENCH ANNOYED THE EC-9 AND NEUTRALS BY KEEPING THEM IN THE DARK AND THEN PRESENTING THE TEXT AS A TRIUMPH WHEN IT HAD OBVIOUS WEAKNESSES; B) TABLING THE TEXT IN A MANNER WHICH GUARANTEED, AND PRODUCED, A PROCEDURAL WRANGLE, THEREBY WASTING SEVERAL SCARCE HOURS; C) PRESENTING A TEXT WORKED OUT BY ONLY THREE DELEGATIONS AND REFUSING TO ACCEPT ANY CHANGES. ONE KEY CHANGE ON DEC 19 OR 20 MIGHT HAVE SAVED IT.

7. SOME EE DELS REPORT THAT BREZHNEV APPROVED THE RUSSIAN VERSION OF THE TEXT WHICH MAY ACCOUNT FOR THE RIGIDITY OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION. IF THIS IS TRUE, WE MAY BE DEALING WITH THIS VERSION FOR SOME TIME. AS THE FRENCH LEAVE THE EC PRESIDENCY, THEY LOSE A LITTLE CLOUT AND THEY WILL NOT BE AS MUCH HELP TO THE SOVIETS IN THE NEW YEAR. ANOTHER "DEAL" MAY BE NEEDED FOR THE SOVIETS TO BRING THIS ONE HOME. ABRAMS

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